

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1916.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE POLITICAL HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF
LANCASTER COUNTY'S FIRST TWENTY YEARS,
1729-1749.

MINUTES OF THE FEBRUARY MEETING.

VOL. XX. NO. 2.

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The Political History and Development of Lancaster County's First Twenty Years, 1729-1749

Partisan political sentiment existed in Lancaster county at the time of its creation in 1729, the division of sentiment being on the very question of organizing the county. The economical German-Swiss opposed the erection of the county and threw their political influence against the project. They sent two petitions to the Assembly praying that the new county be not erected, because the expense of local government here was unjustifiable, so long as the government of this section, as part of Chester county, met all needs as they saw it; especially as assessment and taxation were only nominal here under that regime. It mattered little to them that there was very poor protection here, so long as demands of governmental support were light. The less government, the better. *Laissez faire* was their doctrine. On the other hand, the Scotch-Irish, English and Quakers favored a separate government, in the region west of the Octoraro, because of its efficiency and of the chance for office holding (Vol. 3, Votes of Assembly, pp. 76 & 78).

But almost coeval with the county's erection two province-wide political questions stirred infant Pennsylvania. One was that of the issuance of paper money to relieve the panic of 1723-8, owing to the scarcity of specie or metallic money; and the other was the question of toleration of Catholic-

ism in the province. On the money question our county divided, the traders and speculators clamoring for paper money and the plain farmers opposing it. The government issued the money and those who wanted part of it gave mortgages on their land for the same and were compelled to pay back the interest and one-twelfth of the principal each year. Thus the mass of the people opposed the issue of paper money and asked the Assembly that coin be raised in value, and that produce be made money (Vol. 2, Votes of Assembly 335 & 6). Speculators got much of it (Vol. 2 Votes of Assembly 339 & 40—hereafter cited as V. A.).

On the religious question, the people of this county (as well as of the province) were divided. February 20, 1729, the Quaker-English Assembly, in a message to the Governor, said "We conceive it to be of greatest consequence to the preservation of both the religious and civil rights of the people to prevent importation of Irish papists into Pennsylvania" (Vol. 3 V. A. 65). The Quakers and Germans both were opposed to them. The Irish and the English favored them.

The first distinct political party cleavage in this county was upon the question of "the common people's interests versus the proprietors' interests" (The Penns).

1729. Judge Edwards was the favorite son in the new county, and for Assembly received the highest vote. John Wright had lost his popularity. He was a member of Assembly in 1726; but was defeated in 1727 and in 1728. In 1729 he received a small vote, compared with Edwards. James Mitchel and Thomas Read were the other assemblymen-elect. Minor figures compared with Edwards and Wright. The members elected stood in the or-

der of the size of their vote on the returns set forth in "Votes of Assembly" (Vol. 3 V. A. 95)

1730. The next year Wright was the reigning political favorite and Edwards fell to second place. Mitchell and Read were displaced by George Stuart, third place; and John Musgrove was at the foot (Vol. 3 V. A. 124).

1731. At this election Wright and Edwards were discounted. Edwards fell to fourth place and Wright was not elected at all. Wright was too mild and weak for the rugged border strife on the Susquehanna. Donegal brought out Andrew Galbraith, an idol of the reigning Scotch-Irish element. He received next to the highest vote on the ticket. John Coyle, a new man, stood at the head. All the Assemblymen of 1730 except Edwards were defeated in 1731.

1732. This year Judge Edwards stood next to highest on the ticket. He was an austere judge, and sentenced the Maryland border rogues severely. George Stewart stood head. Samuel Blunston now appeared and stood third. He was very active in keeping the unruly element on and over Susquehanna, orderly and was in great favor in the county and among the political leaders of the province at Philadelphia. (Pa. Arch. 314). Andrew Galbraith this year had a hard political fight with John Wright and barely secured election, standing lowest in the vote. Had not Wright's friends used a ticket which could not be counted, because not correct in form, he might have defeated Galbraith. Wright had his friends use a "short ballot;" and this, instead of helping him, was his undoing. Those tickets under the law could not be counted. This is the first use of a short ballot in Pennsylvania. The

law required each voter to vote for four members of Assembly. Wright had a number of his friends not to do so, and instead put only two names on the ticket besides Wright's; and neither of those names to be Galbraith's. If he had simply had them put a name on instead of Galbraith's, so that the ticket had four names on them, these ballots would have been good and Wright would have been elected. Maryland contended that the Susquehanna River was the boundary of Pennsylvania, and Wrig't was not strenuous enough in defending our province against this encroachment. The Governor of the Province paid little attention to our border struggle and disavowed countenancing the battle in Wright's wheat field where 300 soldiers of our county, under the sheriff, moved against an almost equal number of desperadoes of the Maryland wilds under Cresap (1 Pa. Arch. 314 and 317). The report, says Blunston, was current that the Assembly also apologized to Maryland and blamed it on "the Irish of Lancaster county." (Do.). Blunston said the Germans took no part in defense and "do nothing but give their opinions and find fault" (Do.). The political question in our county in 1732 was the Scotch-Irish policy of driving Maryland below the 39th degree of north latitude (Do. 334) versus the "Dutch" policy of allowing Maryland to encroach to the west bank of the Susquehanna and the south bank of the Juniata. The attorney general of the province was given 20 lbs. extra salary on condition he would overcome crime "more particularly in regard to the county of Lancaster" (3 V. A. 164).

According to Rupp (p. 264) Andrew Galbraith's wife went out electioneering on horseback in the fall of 1732

for her husband and made him many votes.

Wright contested his defeat in the Assembly Oct. 16 on the ground that many tickets containing his name were thrown out and that if they had been counted he would have won. (3 V. A. 184). The Assembly heard the matter fully and decided that his short tickets were invalid and illegal. He was not out of Assembly long, since George Stuart died soon after his election, and Wright was elected to his place, and took his seat March 18th, 1733 (Do. 185).

The political leaders at this time in our county were John Wright, Samuel Blunston, Robert Barker, Thomas Edwards, Andrew Galbraith, Andrew Cornish, Joshua Low, Samuel Jones, Tobias Hendricks, John Musgrave, Caleb Pearce, Edward Smout, James Mitchel (Donegal) and George Stuart.

1733. In the autumn of 1733 Lancaster county's members in Assembly stood in the following order, as to the number of votes received from highest to lowest: Galbraith, Edwards, Wright and Coyle. Wright held the position of trustee of the general loan office and also that of member of Assembly. His enemies at home, to oust him, tried to have a law passed against holding plural offices (3 V. A. 300). The Scotch-Irish of Lancaster county were banded into a political party by reason of the border struggle. The German-Swiss had crossed the Susquehanna river to settle, and a few Scotch-Irish were there (3 Col. Rec. 477—hereafter cited C. R.). In every county of the Province, the political party lines were drawn between those who would strengthen proprietaryship in Pennsylvania, and those who would weaken it—those who favored government by the common people.

Our county was, for many years, strongly against the proprietary party. The Scotch-Irish and Germans held similar views on this subject. The Assembly consisted of only one body of men. There was no Senate as now. But the Lieutenant Governor had authority to appoint a council of 6 to 15 men, to whom legislation was referred, and who acted much as the Senate acts to-day. The Governor usually made up his council of men of the aristocratic order, men who were favorable to the Penns. During forty-two years there was not a single Lancaster county man on the Council. But in 1771 Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, became a member. (9 C. R. 745). There were few prominent men in our county favorable to the proprietor. Most members of Council were Philadelphia men, where there was strong proprietary sentiment. And for a long time the alignment was Philadelphia against the rural districts. But there were Chester and Bucks county men in council.

But in some respects, and at certain times, the provincial powers in Philadelphia gave heed to popular will in our county. The law allowed the people to elect in each county two persons for Sheriff and two for Coroner; and then the Governor and Council would select one of those two for Sheriff and one for Coroner. Very often the appointee was the person receiving the smaller vote, thus ignoring the people's first choice. But in 1732 and 1733 they selected the one having the highest vote in Lancaster county (3 C. R. 464 and 521). During this period our local politics was dull. It was stated in council that the Assembly as then constituted were "chiefly the same who have represented the Province the past many years." (4 C. R. 41).

1734. This fall a new political power appeared in Lancaster county. He seems to have bounded into leadership at once—James Hamilton. Of the four members elected to Assembly, he received the highest vote by far. There was another new figure—John Emerson, of Blue Rock. He was next highest in the vote. Galbraith stood third and John Wright scarcely secured election, standing lowest of the four elected.

The most remarkable political event in our county's first ten years of existence was the appearance and six years leadership of James Hamilton. From 1734 to 1739, inclusive, he was political boss of the county. He was of Scotch-Irish parentage, though born in Virginia in 1710. But from early childhood until 1734 he lived in Philadelphia. Thus it is very remarkable that coming to Lancaster county to live in May, 1734, a young man of 24, he should in the fall of that same year be elected to Assembly by the highest vote of all the candidates and be five times consecutively re-elected and always by the highest vote. A stranger could not do that to-day.

This was due most prominently to two powerful causes: First, to the great fame of his wonderful father, and, secondly, to the young man's ownership of nearly a square mile of land, right in the center of Lancaster.

The father of James Hamilton was then the greatest lawyer of America—for ten years Speaker of the Assembly, from 1729 to 1739, when he declined to serve longer. He was in the very zenith of glory and power; he was in the ripest maturity of wisdom; he was the idol of the common people, loved above every other man in Pennsylvania, during the very time

his son appeared on the scene here. And in 1735, when all the other lawyers feared and refused to defend the liberty of a poor printer in New York against the King's charge of libeling the Government, Andrew Hamilton volunteered to defend him, and he did so, acquitting Zenger, the defendant, though the Court, the people, and even the jury, at first, were against him. In defending this humble man he well knew that he was defending the liberties of the whole American people against the tyranny of England; and for his known stand for popular liberty, freedom of trade and conscience, and for his achievement in this Zenger trial, Gouverneur Morris has called him "the day star of the Republic." The son of such a popular hero, if he were, like his father, also a discreet man, naturally drew much prominence to him, and gave him great advantage over other men equally good, but less fortunate. All the ages prove this, and likewise does the present age prove it. Thus when James Hamilton arrived in Lancaster in 1734 he was known—known better than many estimable men who lived here all their lives.

James, being the son of a great father, the great man who presided with such fairness and power over the people's Assembly, naturally all local politicians would be over-zealous to help James, if not for love's sake, then for the sake of the political advantage that would come to them. I have no doubt at all that Galbraith, Hendricks, Barber, Blunston, Emerson, and other politicians on the Susquehanna, helped him in the river section, knowing that he would help them in all parts of Lancaster county. The Hamiltons (An-

drew and James) and their relatives, and among them, particularly, the great political power, Wm. Allen, who was married to Hamilton's daughter, were all close to the Governor and Council. Nearly all political officers were appointed by the Governor, and this was another reason why anyone desiring or holding office, any one in politics, should flock to the support of a man who stood so close to so much appointive power as did James Hamilton.

Here at Lancaster, too, James Hamilton was making a new fame all his own. He was not a lawyer, but a business man. All the people of this section needed a town with industries, and with people who could consume farmers' products. The market at Philadelphia was far away, and profits were lost in transportation. Our people were sending petitions to the Assembly to be allowed to make whisky and rum out of their grains and fruit, without paying a license, so they did not need to transport their grain and flour to Philadelphia, and lose their apples and peaches entirely. James Hamilton was the very man to give them what they wanted and needed, and to solve the difficult problem, which affected Scotch-Irish, Germans, Jews, and all who lived here.

His father, about 1730, became the equitable owner of about 500 acres of land in the heart of what is now our city, and May 1, 1734, he and James Steel, holder of the legal title, turned it over to James Hamilton. Andrew Hamilton had already made a partial plan of lots out of the tract, and James completed the plotting and bought additions to it, laying the additions out in lots also. (Evans & Ellis, No. 359 and 361.)

Thus was James Hamilton giving to this section great material blessings and, the people were ready to give him any additional means of public usefulness in their power. A place in the Assembly would widen his opportunities to help them with their trade troubles and their boundary disputes with Maryland. This land-developing project was a mammoth affair in those early days. The 500 acres would make 2,500 lots about 50 by 100 feet in size; 10,000 people could be accommodated with homes and business places upon them; the people could get lots for a trifle, provided they did not mind a fair-sized ground rent being collected out of them annually forever; a population would be gathered together; manufactories, trade and the arts would grow; labor and the markets would be stimulated, and all would prosper. No wonder Hamilton could be the local leader politically and otherwise, even if he were only twenty-four years old.

Political success in Lancaster county, in those days, at times turned upon smaller events than in our day. Heroism counted for more than now; individuality had great opportunity to make itself felt.

John Emerson owned Blue Rock Ferry, on the Susquehanna (1 Pa. Archives 413, hereafter cited A.), in 1734. He was a valiant fighter for Lancaster county's rights. Maryland put a reward of fifty pounds upon his head and a like sum on Samuel Blunston. Cresap was working very hard to capture Emerson or to kill him and get the reward (1 A. 413). On the other hand, Emerson offered fifty pounds reward for the capture of Cresap, and gave his ferrymen orders to go across (a mile below Washington Borough) and capture Cresap (1 A.

411). Seven of his men went over and attacked him. Blunston deplored the act in a letter to the Governor (Do. 410). It made Emerson a hero among the Scotch-Irish and such Germans as were not disaffected, and he was sent to the Assembly as a reward. This more gladiatorial role of Emerson, to some extent, left the doughty Galbraith in the twilight. The new hero cast a shadow on him. He stood in two shadows—Hamilton's and Emerson's. Wright stood lowest. He was too pacific for these troublesome times on Susquehanna.

The political vortex of our county during these days was in the western part. All the county's Assemblymen were from the river except Hamilton. Robert Buchanan and Joshua Lowe, Sheriff and Coroner, were from the western border, too. The eastern portion's events were of minor importance during the border warfare. The Provincial political issue at this time (what we would now call the State's issue) was the increase of paper money; and the local or county issue was the border warfare.

1735. In the fall of 1735 Hamilton, Edwards, Galbraith and Armstrong were elected members of Assembly, and their votes stood in the order named. Thomas Armstrong got Coyle's place. The clash of interests between the proprietor and people continued. Penn's absence made it stronger and his death caused the feeling to be still more intense. His sons were regarded as intermeddlers by the people. The question did not affect Lancaster county politics.

1736. This year Hamilton, Galbraith, Armstrong and Edwards were elected to the Assembly from Lancaster county. Edwards fell from second to fourth place. Neither this year nor in 1735 was John Wright elected.

Wright was successful only four times in his candidacies for Assembly in these first eight years of our county's history—1729, 1730, 1733 and 1734.

This year was one of many troubles in our county. In 1731 the Palatines began settling across the Susquehanna (1 A. 483). By 1736 there were many families on the west side and a plot to drive out sixty families was discovered (3 V. 288). Many of these families accepted Maryland rule (4 C. 56): A battle occurred in Wright's wheat field over the question (Do. 73). The Five Nations claimed land anew on Susquehanna (4 C. 88 and 94.) As a plot originating in the southern part of Chester county to steal the German's land was discovered (4 C. 100 and 1), Higginbotham, a Maryland desperado, and others, determined to drive the Germans to the east side of the Susquehanna (4 C. 149). He and his party chopped down doors and demolished houses. Lancaster county blamed the Provincial government for inactivity (1 A. 530). This became a political issue in our county, between the fighters and non-resistants.

1737. And now came on the election of 1737 in Lancaster county. For Assembly James Hamilton received 753 votes; Andrew Galbraith, 540; John Wright, 394, and Samuel Smith, 388. (American Weekly Mercury, October 6, 1737.) Gordon Howard was elected Commissioner of the county, and six assessors were elected by the following votes: William Maxwell, 673; Gerard Graham, 553; James Morrison, 402; James Evans, 346; William Allison, 383, and Thomas Elliot, 228. (Do). This is the earliest list of Lancaster county election figures, that can anywhere be found. The votes cast for the year 1737 and 1738 appear in the newspaper I have mentioned above; but not for any other years,

even to the end of that paper's existence in 1746, nor even in the next thirty years in the Pennsylvania Gazette. And the earliest election figures for Lancaster county, in the "Archives" are those of 1757. (Sixth Series of Penn, Arch. Vol. 11, p. 215).

In Lancaster county elections for Assembly this year we observe that Hamilton is still the leader—the political boss of the county. His vote is forty per cent. above Galbraith's, and nearly double that of John Wright. Galbraith has grown in popular favor, rising from lowest vote in 1732, to the next to lowest in 1734 and 1735 and next to highest in 1736 and 1737. Judge Edwards is again defeated by Sheriff Samuel Smith and Armstrong by John Wright. This clearly shows that all the politics of the county centered in the excitement on the Susquehanna river.

It is interesting to compare Lancaster county's vote with those of the other counties this year. Our highest vote was 753 for Hamilton, and for the highest of the assessors (Maxwell) it was 673. Philadelphia county's vote (excluding the town) was 904; Chester county's 724 and the Bucks county figures are not given; but in 1738 that county had 522. The city of Philadelphia cast for assessor, in 1737, only 207 votes (Weekly Mercury, Supra). Thus we see our county was casting as large a vote as Chester, larger than Bucks and not much less than Philadelphia county—though each of these counties were nearly fifty years older than Lancaster county. We were accused, however (as I shall show) of being most malignant "repeaters and ballot-box stuffers." We were a rough frontier county.

1738. At the election this year in Lancaster county for members of the Assembly, James Hamilton received

1,019 votes; Andrew Galbraith, 933; Samuel Smith, 795, and John Wright, 758 (Penna. Gazette, October 5, 1738). The members were the same four who were elected in 1737, and the only difference in their standing is that John Wright, who received a larger vote than Samuel Smith in 1737, now falls below Smith, and received the lowest vote on the successful ticket. The county's vote this year all around was 50 per cent. larger than that of 1737. And I find about 35 per cent. increase in the votes of the other counties. The highest vote for Assemblyman from Philadelphia was 1,303, from Chester, 98, and from Bucks county, 522 (Do).

The newly-aroused political interest seems to have been due to the arrival of Governor Thomas during this year, who superseded Gordon (4 C., 288); the agitation about reviving the tax on liquor, which tax, nor any other tax, had been needed since the first issue of paper money in 1723 (3 V., 302); and the hard times which were now approaching because of the scarcity of money (the paper money allowed by England to be issued being short of that needed for business and of the law authorizing its use), (3 V., 304 and 305). Lancaster county, in common with the rest of the province, complained of the hard times, and began to complain loudly against Penn's quit rents (3 V., 329).

This year Lancaster county elected Andrew Douglass a member of its Board of Commissioners; and George Gibson, Andrew Work, Christian Stone-man, John Powell and Emanuel Carpenter, its Assessors. As candidates from which the Governor should select a Sheriff the county returned Robert Buchanan and James Galbraith;

and as candidates for Coroner Joshua Lowe and William Caldwell; and the Governor selected Buchanan for Sheriff and Lowe for Coroner, these having received the highest votes of the people (4 C., 309).

Politics in the province at this time was still; but a storm was coming. Two political parties were about forming in our county, as well as throughout the province—those holding appointive offices, their friends, the Governor and his lesser dignitaries and satellites in one party; and the common people in the other. (Bolles Pa. Prov. and State, 269). There were also two other parties more or less defined in the county and province, lacking in leadership and purpose—one believing in narrowing the functions of government and opposing possession of power for exclusive use. They were opposed to public assistance to paper money and the public loan system, to inspection laws, regulating of wages. Against them were those who believed in equalizing the advantages of men by public action. They believed in the omnipotence of the province to cure all evils by legislation. They were socialistic in its better sense (Do., p. 270). Lancaster county found itself in political sympathy with this latter party; but some few—the more prominent personages—in our county, allied themselves with the other party, not desiring to help or interfere with private life, modes and affairs.

This year Benjamin Franklin appeared as a political factor in the province, he being chosen as clerk of Assembly (3, V. 352). He was a strong friend of the German-Swiss folk of our county.

1739. Considerable public feeling

was aroused among our people by an attempt to divide the county. The northeastern section attempted to secede and to help erect a new county. They presented a map showing the new line (4 C., 317). Three months later they renewed the effort. It met stern opposition (Do. 335 and 3 V. A., 343). Another effort, made in August, failed (3 V. 346). Penn's collection of quit rents also made a division of political feeling. The Penns refused to take anything except gold and silver as payment, or English money. Lancaster county voted to give them a large bonus if they took the Pennsylvania paper money in payment (3 V. 38). Our local Presbyterians raised a small political issue by refusing to kiss the Bible in taking an oath and petitioned the Assembly in large numbers for another form. The oath by uplifted hand—"Presbyterian oath"—was the result (3 V., 338).

In the county vote this fall for Assembly, John Wright stood highest, rising from the lowest (3 V 352). Thomas Ewing stood second, Thomas Lindley third, and Judge Edwards at the foot of the list. Ewing and Lindley were new men. They ousted Galbraith and Smith. The change in political leadership was very marked. Hamilton had left Lancaster and moved to the fine estate his father had left him near Philadelphia. John Wright was again political leader. The Governor this year refused to appoint our county's first choice for Sheriff, James Mitchell, and appointed our second choice, Robert Buchanan. But he did not appoint Joshua Lowe, our first choice for Coroner. (4 C., 352).

The first of that series of local political events occurred this year, which

caused the Governor to depose John Wright as a Judge of Lancaster county. It was this: Wright was a leader in the Assembly of a resolution to rebuke the Governor for his plan to make a military expedition against the Spaniards, in aid of England. This caused the Governor's plans to fall (4 C. 371). A new political element appeared in our local politics this year—an act was passed in 1739-9 to naturalize a large list of Lancaster county Germans. This gave them political rights, and they began to make themselves felt (Rupp 271). This year our county was divided into eight political sub-sections. (Do 274).

1740. The Governor had now set the political pot boiling all over the province. Great Britain had ordered him to issue letters of marque and reprisal (4 St. L. 469), and he used every effort to make the people feel their defenseless condition, and to make them prepare for war against Spain and France. He urged that war men be elected to Assembly. This, he says, caused the Quakers to "enter into consultation and to exert their whole power to procure a considerable majority of their own persuasion to be chosen, to oppose all warlike preparations—and this they publicly vowed. They told all who advised them to moderation that the province belonged to them (the Quakers), and that all others were intruders, and that if they did not like their measures they might move out of it." A considerable majority of them were returned.

He says: "They gave me to understand in their message that I was to look upon them as an Assembly of Quakers, and that any proposition relating to arms was an invasion of their rights." (Do). He also says the

whole year was spent in fruitless disputes, and a new Assembly was chosen in October, 1740, by which there was as little reason to expect any more provision would be made for defense as there was by the former, and that their yearly meeting (which, though meant for religious concerns) they used to direct civil affairs of government, and by its order and power all but three of the thirty members returned were Quakers (4 St L. 470). He further complains and accuses that the Quakers this year deceived the Germans into the fear and belief that a military force would bring them under a severe bondage, that the expense would impoverish them, and that if any but the Quakers were elected, the Germans would be dragged down from their farms to build forts. He said the Quakers spread many other falsehoods by printed matter among the Germans in the Dutch language (Do. 471). By this means, says Governor Thomas, every man elected to the Assembly is a Quaker except three in the whole province, though, he says only one-third of the people are Quakers. Yet, he says, from their Union they have a much greater influence on all public affairs than any other societies (Do.). This gives us a great deal of light on the political events in Lancaster county in 1739 and 1740. It explains why Galbraith and Smith, elected to the Assembly in 1738, who were not Quakers, were defeated in Lancaster county by Ewing and Lindley in 1739, who were Quakers. It explains why John Wright, chief of Quakers in Lancaster county, got the highest vote that fall. It explains why in Lancaster county, in the fall of 1740, the Germans turned in with the Quakers and elected

Thomas Lindley, John Wright, Thomas Ewing and Anthony Shaw (every one of them a Quaker), to serve the county in the Assembly, even defeating so good a man as Judge Edwards, who was not now a Quaker—having been early proselyted (3 V. p. 424).

The political issue was clearly drawn now in Lancaster county, as well as throughout the province. It was the military party on the one side, against the anti-military party on the other side. The Governor viewed it as the loyalists to Britain on one side and the disloyalists on the other—the Scotch-Irish and English churchmen and others on one side and the Quakers and Germans on the other.

Here in Lancaster county the Germans largely predominated, and when marshaled by the Quakers at the polls, they had no difficulty in out-voting the Scotch-Irish. This seldom happened. But it happened in 1739 and 1740, and likely the two following years.

Governor Thomas, in a letter to England, accused the Quaker Assembly of 1739-40 of giving influential Germans money to control elections, and of giving like large bribes to members of Assembly, who showed signs of not acting in harmony with them, to prevent them from becoming insurgents, from the organization (4 St. L. 475). If the Germans took no part before in politics—they did so now and henceforth.

This was the earliest division of the people of Lancaster county and Pennsylvania into two clearly distinct political parties. In 1738 the leading candidates received nearly all the votes cast. There were no parties—no formidable opposition, to acknowledge candidates. In Philadelphia county the head of the ticket received

1,301 votes; the head in Chester county, 988 votes; in Bucks county, 522 votes, and in Lancaster county, 1,019 votes. Nearly all people voted for them. But in 1739 those who were leaders in 1738 found themselves slaughtered by the resourceful Quakers and allied Germans; and the new party polled 555 votes in Philadelphia county, 886 in Chester county, 382 in Bucks county and a majority in Lancaster county (*American Weekly Mercury* Oct. 4, 1739). The new Quaker-German party took over half the votes which the old party candidates were accustomed to secure. These events brought out a full vote in 1740. The Assembly-elect were all Quakers but three. In Philadelphia county the Quaker polled about 1,100 votes, and the opposition about 800, except in the case of Thomas Leech, who received the votes of both parties, 1,822 votes (*Mercury* Oct. 2, 1740). The other counties figures are not extant, but Governor Thomas, in his complaint to England, said the Quaker-German party polled over half the votes in all counties (4 St. L. 470).

1741. Political issue in Lancaster county this year continued to be about the same as in the previous year; but the success of the seven regiments, of the province sent by Pennsylvania to the campaign against Carthagera gave the war party pre-eminence. One result here in our county was that the non-resistant Germans and the local anti-war party were derided and misrepresented (Lyle, 126). Members of the church of England were leaders of this movement locally, as well as generally. The Scotch-Irish aided it and the Governor himself ordered it. It was intended to punish the pacifists for this strenuous part in politics. But the Quakers who controlled the Assembly took the part

of their German allies. They said to the Governor, "Who they are who look with jealous eyes at the Germans, the Governor has not told us. The Legislature has generally admitted them to the privileges of natural born subjects. We look upon them to be a laborous, industrial people. The Governor was compelled to say in January, 1739, that the flourishing condition of the province, was owing to the industry of those palatines." (4 C. 313).

This year John Wright was appointed head of a committee to protest against the Governor's militarism. Wright boldly attacked the Governor's legal power to carry on his war measure. This caused political heat here at home, between the war party and the peace party (3 V. 430). Eighty-five merchants of Philadelphia accused the Assembly of Quakers of malfeasance, of making our Province helpless and of inviting attack by warlike nations. (3 V. 433). Wright criticized the Governor freely and incurred his disfavor and was deposed as a Judge because of it (4C. 482 and 3). A large party in Lancaster county adhered to Wright and his principles. Lancaster county had sixteen Justices. The Governor reappointed the eight who were not Quakers, but dropped the eight Quakers (4 C 483). Speaking from the Bench to the people of Lancaster county, this year, on taking leave of his office, Judge Wright spoke the views of his party, on the question of the amount of military and political power and authority which is safe and of the point at which they became dangerous (Rupp 276).

The election this fall resulted in re-electing to Assembly those of 1740. The vote from highest to lowest stood, Lindley, Wright, Blunston and Shaw (3 C. 444). These men were the four leading Quakers among the eight Jus-

tices the Governor deposed. Lancaster county majority political opinion, was strongly and bitterly opposed to the Governor, and the big politicians of the province. The Germans and Quakers of Lancaster county had no trouble now to hold their own against the other political party in the county and against the Governor and all his power and patronage. The Governor hit our county by appointing anti-Quaker men for Sheriff and Coroner—Mitchell and Lowe, though they were the county's second choice (4 C. 500).

1742. This year political feeling was bitter, and more bitter than ever before in county and province. The parties were known as the city party and the country party. In our county the country party was the stronger. The Germans all joined the country party and their opponents began to misrepresent them, calling them dangerous and unpatriotic, and representing them so, even to the British Government.

The Mennonite Church was misrepresented. To set themselves right they called a meeting here in our county and resolved to avoid any ambitious appearances or acts. They understood that their prosperity and rapidly-growing estates and wealth made many people jealous. Political capital was being made out of their thrift. The same four Assemblymen of 1741 for the county were re-elected this year. Blunston was most popular. They were all Quakers. Their political opponents were the Scotch-Irish (3 V. 497).

The real local political parties were the Assembly party and the Governor party, the latter for military operations and the former against it. Here at home the Governor's party men were enticing servants to desert their masters to join the army. Owners who had paid for the time of their

servants years ahead lost the service in this manner. Thus in the rural sections the strength of the old Assembly party continued strong. The new or Governor party lost most of its strength as soon as it became a war party. In our county the highest vote for the war party had 99 votes and the old party 1961. In Philadelphia county the new party polled 333 votes and the old one 1790. (See Pennsylvania Gazette, October 7, 1742.) The fact that 1,742 votes were polled in our county at this date shows a good percentage, and the fact that the Assembly party polled 1,480 of them shows that the Mennonite brethren of those days here in our county voted.

It was charged in a proceeding before the Assembly that this year many unnaturalized Germans voted, and that some from other counties went to Philadelphia to vote and help the country party out there. One witness says that "300 unnaturalized Dutchmen came down and tried to vote" (3 V., 564, and Gordon pp. 242 and 2).

Our county elected John Allison County Commissioner, and Jacob Huber, John Wright, Jr., Andrew Work, Benjamin Chambers, Hugh Beale and John Brandsen assessors (Gazette Oct. 7, 1742).

1743. In Lancaster county the political conditions this year remains about the same as in 1742. The disgraceful proceedings at the last election resulted in a movement for securing peace at elections, for which purpose a law was now introduced into the Assembly (3 V., p. 506). That election also taught those Germans of Lancaster county yet unnaturalized their importance in affairs of government, and we find them, January 4th, this year, petitioning to be allowed to take affirmations instead of oaths.

and to be naturalized so that they could enjoy the privileges of British subjects (3 V., p. 305).

The flour acts also helped to keep the Pennsylvania people divided into a country party and a city party. This act demanded inspection of flour. The farmers and country millers were opposed to it, and the merchants strongly favored it. January 7th there were petitions filed by Lancaster county and Chester county in Assembly, praying modification of the law, so that they could sell more freely (3 V., p. 153).

The election in Lancaster county for Assembly this fall resulted in the success of Anthony Shaw, Arthur Patterson, Thomas Lindsey and John Wright, and their vote ranged in the order I have named them. Samuel Blunston was defeated by Arthur Patterson, but the cause of it I am not able to tell. The election, however, was a complete victory for the Assembly party. The forces in the county were lined up as follows: The county members of the Assembly and their friends, the principal Quakers, and the principal Germans of Lancaster were the political workers for the Assembly party, and the sixteen new magistrates (justices and judges) lately appointed by the Governor and office-holders generally, the sheriff and the coroner, whom he appointed also (in part) electioneered for the Governor's party.

The new man elected by Lancaster county, Arthur Patterson, was not a Quaker. He was Scotch-Irish, and naturally a Presbyterian in Donegal. Yet he was an adherent of the Assembly party. He settled on the Chickies in 1724 (Harris, p. 434). This election of 1743 was his first appearance in Lancaster county politics. But he got in it to stay. He was re-elected to the Assembly every year, until

and including 1754—a term of twelve consecutive years (Harris, p. 432).

Our county had a rough-and-tumble special election toward the end of October this year (1743) to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Thomas Lindsey. The sheriff of the county was ordered to hold an election for this purpose (3 V., 536). He did so, and Blunston was successful. The election was rough and irregular (Rupp, 288). The Irish tried for the ascendancy at the polls, and they compelled the sheriff to take such tickets as they approved. Yet they failed. The matter came up in Assembly and the sheriff was compelled to appear November 14 (3 V., 537). The Assembly debated this tumultuous election two days, and particularly scored the sheriff for being sole judge of election, exclusive of the inspectors, etc., and admonished that such conduct was illegal, and an infringement of the people's rights. They reprimanded him (3 V., 538). The end of it was that while he was charged with these offenses and that his returns appeared irregular, yet, as there was no substantial proof, the Assembly considered it was the result of mistake or ill-advice and not of design; and the matter was dropped (Do. 538). Inasmuch as the election of Blunston was a Quaker victory, while the sheriff was of the war party, the Assembly (of Quakers) felt that justice would be administered by censuring the sheriff for the manner of conducting the election, and at the same time approving the result. They could be severely just in the first instance; but could afford to be generous also in the second.

1744. This year the first great Indian treaty in Lancaster occurred. Witham Marshe, who was present as a secretary, called Lancaster a dirty "Dutch" town, sixteen years old.

The Assemblymen elected for the county were Mitchell, Wright, Patterson and Blunston (Rupp, 307). Mitchell, the new man, was an old politician. He was elected to the Assembly in 1729 (3 V., 95), and now, after fifteen years, he is elected again. All these years he took an active interest in local politics and held many positions—excise collector in 1732 (3 V., 176), and again in 1734 (Do. 203), candidate for sheriff in 1734 and 1735 (defeated both times, 3 C., 576-615), and re-appointed collector in 1736 (3 V., 280), helped to fight Cresap and to burn his house (4 C., 135), defeated for sheriff in 1737 (4 C., 437); in 1738 and 1739 again collector of excise, in 1739 defeated for sheriff (4 C., 352), but elected in 1744 to the office, as well as to Assembly (4 C., 500). This year England declared war with France, and the issue soon extended to our province, and the peace party and war party, locally, were formed at once (Pa. Gazette, May 24, 1744). As there was a fear of attack upon defenseless Pennsylvania, the war party received many new supporters. The county now had two peace party men in the Assembly (Wright and Blunston); the other two were for defense and military protection. The rank and file of the county were anti-bellum. Andrew Work was elected commissioner and Martin Mylin, Robert Allison, Andrew Boggs, Patrick Hayes, John Davies and Jacob Mylin, assessors (Pa. Gaz., Oct. 11, 1744). The war and defense spirit had grown so active here that in December Thomas Edwards organized a company of provincial troops, mainly in Earl township (Volume 2, Sec. Ser. Pa. Arch., p. 489). Three months later William Maxwell organized another company

1745. The politics of the county bear no distinctive mark for this

year. The contest between Assembly and Governor was closed harmoniously (Bolles, 88). Venerable John Wright was chosen Speaker of Assembly (4 V., 21), but he was too feeble to serve, and John Kinsey was chosen in his stead (Do., 22). Our county fully realized the need of military defense now (4 V., 24), and our Assemblymen voted for 3,000 pounds, and then for 5,000 pounds for military strengthening. The thought of defense animated all parties (4 V., 13). Over ninety vessels belonging to Philadelphians had been captured by the French and Spaniards (Pa. Gaz., May 16, 1745). The Government openly advertised for servants to join the army, and offered to buy from their masters their time (Do., June 20).

For Assembly, Wright, Mitchell, Patterson and James Wright were successful. James Wright served twenty-one years as Assemblyman for Lancaster county out of the period of 1745 to 1770. (Harris, 624). The new prison was begun this year.

1746. Our county's main question this year was the need of money. The treasuries of the county and of the province were empty. Only paper money was in sight. Quakers would not help the Louisburg expedition (4 V., 38). Lancaster county became frightened because of the boldness of the Indians, who became treacherous, knowing of the war. Our county begged the Governor for guns to defend themselves (5 C., 26). At last four hundred guns were provided for us, each one to give his note for his gun (4 V., 25). Times were dull and farm prices low (Gaz., Feb. 4, 1746). The Governor dropped eight of our justices of the peace and appointed new ones in their stead (5 C., 3). The Assemblymen elected were the same as last year (Rupp, 307).

1747. The political condition of the county was mild now. The Germans and the Quakers had greatly changed their attitude on the question of military defenses and operations. A military spirit in different degrees now possessed every one. There were Lancaster countians in both the army and the navy now. This was plain from the number of Lancaster men who were running away from their masters (Gazette of April 9, July 2 and September 17), and also the number of Lancaster men deserting from the army, viz.: William Erhard, Nicholas Fry, John Straw, James Carroll, Roger Mountain, John Burns, Anthony Bushong, Manchester Halloway and others (Penna. Gazette, May 28 and June 4, 1747).

A military spirit now pervaded the province. The associators began forming (Gazette, Nov. 26, 1747) A meeting was held at Walton's school house, on Arch street, and later a great meeting, at which 1,000 persons joined the Association. Elaborate forms and Articles of Association were drawn up (Gazette, Dec. 3). The Association censured the Assembly for lack of the sense of protection. They pledged themselves to form companies and to drill; to form regiments; to arm themselves; to serve without pay; to elect a military council, etc. Chester county organized a branch (Do., Dec. 3). Lancaster county also fell in with the spirit. Our county elected three Assemblymen in favor of defense and war, if necessary, Patterson, Webb and Peter Worrall. John Wright was re-elected as a final compliment to a faithful servant.

1748. This year saw the real rise of the military spirit in Lancaster county. The Associators formed a company in January, with Hugh Patrick as Captain, Thomas McDowell as

Lieutenant and Thomas Grubb as Ensign. (Penna. Gazette of Jan. 26, 1748). By March Lancaster county had another company officered by Gabriel Davis as Captain, Robert Ellis as Lieutenant and Edward Davis as Ensign. (Penna. Gazette of Jan. 26.) Another Lancaster county company was announced, with Jas. Gillespie as Captain, James Gilchrist as Lieutenant, and Samuel Johnson as Ensign (Do., March 15). And by the next week the county of Lancaster had regimental officers, Benjamin Chambers as Colonel, Robert Dunning as Lieutenant Colonel and Wililam Maxwell as Major, with fourteen companies under them; each having a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign (Do., March 22). By April 25th the county had another regiment of fourteen companies, fully officered. Their Colonel was Thomas Cookson; Lieutenant Colonel, James Galbraith, and Major, Robert Baker (Do., April 25). And by June the 16th a third regiment under Colonel Gillespie, Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Anderson and Major James Whitehill (Do., June 16). In the midst of these military preparations news reached Pennsylvania about the end of October that peace was proclaimed (Do., November 3).

In the midst of this spirit Lancaster county on October 1, 1748, elected the same four members to Assembly as in 1747. Joseph Pugh was elected sheriff and Isaac Sanders coroner (Gazette of October 6).

1749. As soon as peace between England and France was re-established factional county politics was everywhere evident. The Assemblymen elected were James Wright, Patterson, Calvin Cooper and Peter Worrall. Wright and Cooper were the new men. The election was a Quaker-"Dutch" victory. Cooper and Wright

were Quakers. Worrall was the idol of the Germans, and Patterson, though Irish, was friendly with the Quakers.

The election of James Wright and Cooper and Patterson was sure and easy. The burden of the fight was between James Webb and Peter Worrall. The Germans threw their strength to Worrall and elected him. Webb charged fraud and contested Worrall's election before the Assembly.

Webb in his petition to the Assembly set forth that at the late election there were gross frauds whereby he was not elected; that the good people are thereby defeated of their privilege. Many of the voters in the county also joined in a petition setting forth that at the late election the people crowded in a body, and that they stuck their tickets in the end of cloven sticks, and committed other frauds; that tickets were put in by boys; that many voted several times; that the number of votes received were more than double the number of the people who were present; that the officers did not put any on oath or call for any tests. By reason of all this they pray the election to be declared void (4 V., 117-18). November 22 the Assembly took the case up and heard many witnesses. The testimony was that the election was tumultuous; that no regular list could be taken of the voters' names; that votes by proxy were allowed; that illegal votes was received by inspectors, especially by Christian Herr, an inspector; votes from minors received; that persons not legally chosen inspectors received votes as inspectors; that many people voted three, four and five, and even ten, times; that one of the candidates (Worrall) who is returned as elected encour-

aged giving in more than one vote by the same person; that the number of voters attending did not exceed 1,000, though the tickets found in the box were more than 2,300 (4 V., p. 122, and Rupp., p. 299).

The defense was that only two tickets were taken by proxy, but the owners of the tickets were in view, the tickets were taken from minors to get rid of them, but they were not put in the box; that those elected inspectors soon after starting in were pulled away from their tables, and that the number of voters present was as great as the number of votes cast (4 V., p. 123). The case went over to 1750, and January 2d the Assembly resumed considering it (4 V., p. 126). Several witnesses were heard the next day and the list of taxables of Lancaster county was produced, showing there were 4,598 to show there was no duplication in voting or repeating (4 V., 126). The next day the case was up again, and the representative who was charged with encouraging plurality of votes in favor of himself, on his oath, purged himself, and also by witnesses supported the same (Do., p. 127).

The sheriff of the county was called in at the end of these proceedings and severely censured for this irregular election, and especially for making himself judge and inspector and clerk of the election, and for having intoxicated persons on the board, and for not having the tally sheets, and for not suppressing disorder and suppressing fraud (4 V., 127-8). After all this the sheriff had the "cheek" to present a bill for twenty pounds expenses in defending his crooked election. The Germans had full control of the election, and from this time onwards were the masters in our county politics.

We cannot tell how many of the

2,300 votes Webb received, and how many Worrall received. One thing is clear, and that is, that at this time it was alleged, only 1,000 voters out of 4,598 entitled voters came to the polls. The roughness and dangers of an election surely kept many away.

Some political feeling was aroused this year by the proceedings to erect York county (4 V., 107-119). Petitions were filed against it on the ground that to cut so many people off would leave tax burdens too heavy on the remainder (4 V., 100). Fully nine-tenths of those living over Susquehanna were German (Pa. Arch. 3d Ser., Vol. 21).

The Governor this year changed the list of justices of the peace considerably. He dropped several and appointed new ones, and greatly enlarged the number of them.

Such were the political conditions of our county in the first twenty years of its existence. Human nature was the same then as now, and people took violently opposite views on nearly every public question.

Minutes of February Meeting

Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 4, 1916.

The February meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held in their room in the A. Herr Smith Library Building on Friday evening. President George M. Steinman occupied the chair. The librarian, Miss Lottie Bausman, presented her annual report which showed that many donations had been received during the past year.

Miss Elizabeth G. Armstrong and Miss Kate Hartman, both of Lancaster, were elected to membership in the Society; and Mrs. Return Fahnestock, John A. Nauman, Esq. and Mr. Harry M. Hoover, all of Lancaster, were nominated for membership.

The suggestion of the secretary, Mr. Charles B. Hollinger, in his annual report, to the effect that a social affair be held in connection with one of the monthly meetings was accepted and a committee was appointed to arrange for it.

The librarian was authorized to purchase several books. It was suggested by D. F. Magee Esq., that the Society should see fit to purchase old manuscripts, books or curios that pertain to the early history of Lancaster county.

The donations received during December and January included: "Old Schuylkill Tales," from Mrs. Ella Zerbey; the address of D. B. Landis at the Ben Franklin Club banquet on Jan. 17, from D. B. Landis; a

number of the Society's pamphlets; four numbers of the "Memphis Appeal" published at Atlanta, Ga., in August, 1864, issued just when Sherman was getting ready for his march to the sea, presented by Mrs. M. Alexander; and a "hound iron" taken from a government wagon used during the Revolutionary War, from William J. McCaa, Esq., of Churchtown. T. Roberts Appel, Esq. explained that this particular hound iron was made at Valley Forge and is a fine sample of those used at Windsor Forges.

The paper of the evening was "The Political History and Development of Lancaster County's First Twenty Years—1729 to 1749" by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq. The paper was very interesting and told of stirring political elections and local factional fights connected therewith, the prominence of James Hamilton in the political arena for a time; the Quakers, Germans, Scotch-Irish, English and other elements and their part in local political and industrial life.

Mr. H. Frank Eshleman of the committee on indexing twenty volumes of the Historical Society proceedings appealed for volunteers to assist in the work. It was intimated that a number of members of the Society will respond.

